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PARTY GOVERNMENT.

Experience has shown us that under any free and constitutional form of government, parties are sure to arise among the people, and contest for the majority which awards the controlling voice in affairs. As parties are so natural and inevitable, if not indispensable, in any government of the people, by the people, it may be assumed that they are good and useful, as long as they are intelligent and patriotic,—qualities that also imply honesty and efficiency in the public trusts, whether civil or political.

But, in course of time, party government, or its immediate managers, develop many and monstrous abuses, that cry aloud for punishment and remedy. The Democrats remember Tweed in New York, before the war; they remember that Tammany and Croker are there, now; while Quay in Pennsylvania, with a municipal control in Philadelphia begotten by the same Republican ogre and his breed, remind the dominant party of the country that it is not immaculate in its councils, legislatures, or Congresses, if any department of any of its administrations, high or low, will bear the light and scrutiny of right and truth. Even in Virginia, Caesar's wife is not above suspicion. Everywhere, in fact, we know that party is the source, on one side or the other, of the most profligate evil influences and ill deeds, though we may not be able to trace them directly and plainly to the guilty means and persons; yet, for all that, like the Little Old Man of the Sea, the monster is on our shoulders, and cannot be thrown off. Nor are we sure we can do without him.

If the majority must rule, or appear to do so, what other available method, except by parties and their organized operations, is there to secure either the reality, or the appearance? And are we quite sure, in any case, that our government is not of and by the people,—by the majority? That it is glaringly bad and dishonest, even against the best interests of the people, is no proof to the contrary, for there are not lacking the most positive demonstrations that government of the people, by the people, is not always for the people; while some insist that it may be of, by and for the people, in a sense, and yet against the general welfare, if not in the line of wrong and disaster for the people themselves. There are no few people—and we do not mean the socialistic, communistic, nor proletarian rabble either—who really desire great disasters and wrongs to occur, because they have a constant faith in their ability to master just such situations to their own aggrandizement or glory, whatever may befall others,—although they are usually mistaken.

Men are easily deluded and persuaded along the line of least resistance—where their interests and associations coincide with wealth, power and party—or they are led to believe, at least, that such is the case; or that some immediate good will be attained, or some evil averted, or postponed; and when the press which men read, or the orators and advisers whom they hear, clin this or that continually into their ears, they cease to reason and accept the hum in their heads, or on the streets, as the voice of conviction and truth; and in this hypnotized, or dazed condition of mind and feeling are quite ready for any folly, from lynching any innocent man to self-slaughter. Men, too, are quite capable, of cutting off their noses to spite their faces, and

one of the commonest mental and moral diversions, if not the favorite, is to speak and act out of mere contrariness, though to one's obvious loss and detriment,—an exhibition of the strongest selfishness in stubborn and malignant self-sacrifice.

"The base Judean who threw a pearl away worth all his tribe" has many imitators, through ignorance, prejudice, intimidation, bribery, or the force of example or habit. It is not to be assumed that the tramp of beggar will be less liberal or generous than the millionaire. On the contrary, the smallest soul and the biggest purse are often well-mated; as Russell Sage once shielded his life from an assassin by interposing the body of another man; and then repudiated the obligation, though it may be that his life was really worth nothing. But while it may happen that men will do the exact reverse of what they are naturally expected to do, and ought to do,—we know that in parties and politics, the bosses, the managers and the mercenary hirelings of the campaign, who do the dirtiest work, all work together in unity to win—not because to win will be a triumph of high principle, or of wise policy, or patriotic or humane endeavor; no! they are all on pay, with the hope of future reward in spoils, or cash, as the venture may turn out,—with the speculators who supply the campaign-fund looking for administrative concessions (as Hepburn and his bank), or Congressional favors (as in the Dingley tariff bill, or the pending gold-standard, bonding and banking bill), or judicial decisions (as in the steady current of judgment supporting, or defending, all the assumptions, pretensions and encroachments of all corporations, trusts, &c., that "smack of money," or "show color."

The masses, meanwhile, except the lowest of the bribed and corrupted levels, are amused with "the flag" (which is carefully disposed to hide the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution), "expansion," "commerce," "prosperity," &c., are driven to the polls by their herders to vote gold into the contracts of the bondholders, to give their currency to the banks, to put their Treasury in the hands of speculators, and to be sheared by every device that McKinley and his masters can contrive, "to make the rich richer, and the poor poorer," by exorbitant tariffs, by enormous exemptions from taxation, and by thus using the Republicans to destroy Republics, to pauperize themselves and become particeps criminis in all the crime that McKinley, Congress, a dissolute press and the money-classes are busily doing and preparing against liberty and the people here and everywhere "the flag" can be prostituted for pelf.

THE UNJUST MUST SETTLE.

As soon as man began to emerge from the Dark Ages, he also began to learn that he had been deprived, not merely of privileges, but of rights. But it has been a long and difficult task to learn what these rights are, and a still larger and more difficult undertaking to establish them. Neither has yet been fully accomplished, and, in some respects, we are still in the Dark Ages. Indeed, there are no few reasons to fear that we are rapidly returning to all the worst characteristics of the Dark Ages in their darkest colors of fraud, force, covetousness, cruelty, brutality and chicanery. Christianity is no longer a faith, but a profession only, where it is not denied and repudiated; civilization is a thin veneer, or manner, that makes us more barbarous by concealment; and enlightenment furnishes us with more excuses for crime and vice as we are puffed up by an inflated self-estimate.

It is not meant that most men, or men generally, are thus; but the ruling intelligence and temper of those who take the start and step of the world in position, power and influence, in "practical life," set this tendency among us with an accelerating, strengthening and bolder pace. A little close attention and observation of dominating or domineering men and interests reveal this trend of the times unmistakably. Is it already irremediable? Or are there countervailing causes that are now operating to check or arrest it? "The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune" are all the more galling than they were in the days of Hamlet, for the reason that they have ceased to be of "fortune," and are become notably the results of selfish and malignant design.

"The whips and scorns of time,
The oppressor's wrong, the proud man's contumely,
... the law's delay,
The insolence of office and the spurns
That patient merit of the unworthy takes,"—

all these and others they index, we are learning as the direct results of a studied policy to despise and humiliate right and to reach ends desired and determined on, how wrong soever, through stiff-necked insolence and power. Combinations of this resolute and unscrupulous sort, hesitating at nothing, rush over the rest of us, or scatter us before them,—indifferent to the noise we make as
"The eagle lets the little birds sing,
And cares not what they mean thereby."

They are men of action, and accomplish their purposes, whatever they may be; the masses, the public, the students of the times, stand aside, look on, wonder, comment, complain and condemn; but what care the men of

action, so they get what they want? Is it conquest, empire, power, gold, bonds, money, interest, dividends, profits,—it is theirs because they want it, and they need no argument but the power and opportunity to take. Rob Roy is their prophet, priest and king. Their "simple plan" is

"That they should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can."

It is always what o'clock they say it is,—be the hour what it may. Black is white, if it suits their purpose, or white is black. Is this to continue forever—a lane that has no turning? No! The insatiable appetite of greed grows by what it feeds on. It is the daughter of the horse-leech forever crying: "More!" Unreasoning, conscienceless, with no scruple nor remorse, this fatal hunger for gold, like the quenchless thirst of drunkards for stimulants, will surely conquer the conquerors. It will assuredly betray them to some excess that will stir mankind to self-defense; and when that hour comes, the doom of the spoilers has sounded. Their unjust gold will only make more certain and terrible the accounting to the last cent of their unholy and ill-gotten gains!

IMPERIAL TYRANNY.

A tyranny is an arbitrary or despotic government; the exercise of power over subjects and others with a rigor not authorized by law or justice, or not requisite for the purposes of government. An imperial tyranny is the tyranny of an emperor or an empire, or exercised in an imperial, imperious, or imperative manner.

Now that it is alleged that the Philippine conquest is completed, or that, at any rate, this administration means to hold the islands in subjection, the people of the United States are becoming impatient for peace and for a defined and established policy for the government of the Philippines. Heretofore the administration has continually warned Congress: "Hands off!" but the demand of the people has become so insistent that McKinley and his advisers have had to make a pretense of yielding, and bringing their Eastern spoils within the sphere of constitutional government and law.

To this end, a bill introduced by Senator Spooner, of Wisconsin, has been pitched upon as "the most despicable" measure yet proposed, which, in short order, thus disposes of 10,000,000 of human beings:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That when all insurrection against the sovereignty and authority of the United States in the Philippine islands, acquired from Spain by the treaty concluded at Paris on the 10th day of December, 1898, shall have been completely suppressed by the military and naval forces of the United States, all military, civil and judicial powers necessary to govern the said islands shall, until otherwise provided by Congress, be vested in such person and persons and shall be exercised in such manner as the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES SHALL DIRECT for maintaining and protecting the inhabitants of said islands in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property and religion."

The sum and substance of this bill (for it is a bill) is that the Filipinos and other inhabitants of the Philippines MAY FREELY ENJOY LIBERTY, PROPERTY AND RELIGION AS THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES SHALL DIRECT; and upon this McKinley's N. Y. Sun says:

"What more is needed at the present time? And are even the last nineteen words of Mr. Spooner's bill indispensable?

Certainly the last nineteen words are not indispensable—mere surplusage, not worth the counting, for is not all necessary matter comprised as the President shall direct?—"for maintaining and protecting the inhabitants of said islands in the FREE ENJOYMENT of their liberty, property and religion"—is the broadest farce, and is an attempt to make a comic joke of a very serious Senate bill; beheading a whole people of all their liberties and rights at a stroke

The bill proposed is absolute and imperial tyranny, with no ifs and ands about it. Mr. McKinley is to do as his sovereign will may please. Who would have believed, that before the Republican party came into being, that it was for the destruction of Republicanism and Republics; for the maintenance of Emperors, slavery, polygamy and piracy; and for the enactment by Congress of the most imperial and absolute tyranny ever projected? Men formerly were ashamed to put such things in plain words, but this McKinley regime "sticks at nothing."

THE GOLD STANDARD DOLLAR.

Where is the gold unit of value? Where is the gold standard dollar? The dollar was first of silver, and was called "a thaler," in low German, being first coined about the time of the discovery of America.

The gold dollar first came into existence in this country, in 1873, by the act of February 12, to demonetize silver, &c. But its coinage ceased with the three dollar gold piece, and the three-cent nickel piece by act of September 26, 1890, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United

States of America in Congress assembled, That from and after the passage of this act the coinage of the three-dollar gold piece the one-dollar gold piece, and the three-cent nickel piece, and the same is hereby prohibited, and the pieces named shall not be struck or issued by the Mint of the United States.

Sec. 2. That as fast as the said coins shall be paid into the Treasury of the United States they shall be withdrawn from circulation and be recoined into other denominations of coins.

Sec. 3. That all laws and parts of laws in conflict with this act are hereby repealed.

The standard of value, or unit of value, or the single gold standard, or the gold dollar, as we have seen, having been born in 1873, lived about seventeen years, and then came to an untimely end and burial in 1890, as above.

Yet we find this defunct and abolished coin declared by the currency bill H. B. 1), to define and fix the standard of value, to be that standard unit,—in which the Senate substitute concurs, though it is most manifest that the many funeral orations pronounced over the alleged "dead" silver dollar would be far more appropriate to the gold dollar which was buried ten years ago by act of Congress.

Before the expiration of another decade, the banks and bankers, capitalists and speculators, will probably be in sore need for the silver money they are seeking to transform into tokens; and Senator Aldrich and other goldite statesmen will learn before the Transvaal gold mines will be opened to British plunder that "THOU SHALT NOT STEAL!" is an injunction worthy to be printed in letters of gold in pictures of silver!

THE NONSENSE OF CONTRACTION.

The N. Y. Tribune, encouraged by the increased production of gold and the probable passage of the gold-standard bill, ventures to say:

"True, there never was any logic in the notion that prices must fall if the quantity of metallic money in use decreased, for it was always a stupid assumption, and one contrary to all experience, that decrease in the supply of coin lessened the entire amount of buying. Human beings used to buy on credit long before Bryan's false notions came into blundering minds, and prices were affected by such buying as much as by any other."

But it was no stupid assumption, nor false notion, of Mr. Bryan's, that the quantity of money, like that of anything else, ceteris paribus, determined its value. That is a fixed law of economical and financial science, and he who questions it is as foolish as he who calls in question the law of gravitation. Henry Cernuschi, a high authority, says: "The purchasing power of money is in direct proportion to the volume of money existing,"—and this he said in testifying before the U. S. Monetary Commission in 1877. He added: "The volume of circulating money being made larger than before, there will be a corresponding diminution in the purchasing power of every metallic dollar."

That fully accounts for the anxiety of the gentlemen who procured the secret demonetization of silver and who have been so eager for every scheme to contract the currency. Being directly asked if the purchasing power of gold would be affected by the disuse of silver as money, Mr. Cernuschi replied: "Certainly. The purchasing power of gold would increase in a great scale." The hire or purchase of money, or credit, must decrease in rate as the latter

abound, as they must increase in rate as the latter grow in scarcity. That is the law of supply and demand; and it is silly for the Tribune to say that the law does not apply to prices, because people can buy on credit; which is an incident (as long as it exists) which tends to increase the price of money and credit, to the actual loss of value in the commodities exchanged. If flour sell in cash for five dollars a barrel with plenty of money in circulation, if the money diminish and the supply of flour do not, the producer of the flour must take less money for it, because of the scarcity of money compared with flour; and if the sales to middlemen and consumers are continued in equal volume on credit, or what is the same, borrowed money, it must be at a reduced value for the flour because of the pressure of the interest.

But the volume of sales decreases with the volume of money, and prices fall in money to keep up sales, in the precise ratio of the monetary scarcity. The Tribune probably knows all this; but it dares to make a stupid assumption, and attempt to create a false notion because "anything goes" now while gold or money is on top. But it should be ashamed of such nonsense under any circumstances.

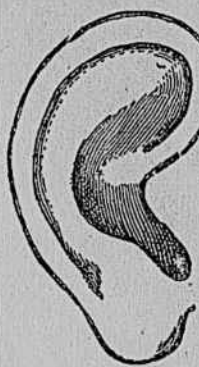
NOTES AND OPINIONS.

(Washington Star.)
When it is announced that the Boers are on the run, supplementary information should always be given as to which way they are running.

(Richmond News.)
Roberts has returned to Utah and has been arrested for living with one of his wives. Poor man, it looks as if he had simply been driven to the awful Congress habit.

(Louisa Enterprise.)
Some of the trusts are raising wages, but the chances are that they will cut them down after the next election. The trusts are no fools, and they know who their friends are.

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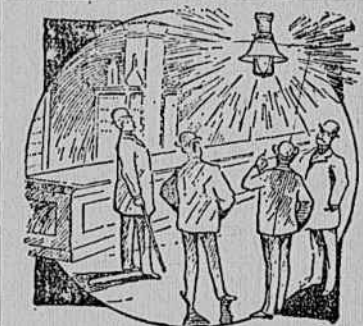
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